

Syllabus
Summer Session 2012
University of California Washington Center
Wednesdays, 6-9pm
UCDC, Room 318

Instructor:

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Office Hours: by appointment

Spies! The Politics of Intelligence

Intelligence organizations have two qualities that Americans instinctively fear and distrust: secrecy and power. While the intelligence community can attempt to alleviate this fear and mistrust, the secret nature of intelligence work can never wholly put them to rest. Moreover, Americans, particularly since 9/11, hold two opposing views of the intelligence community: that it is both omniscient and incompetent. This course is intended to explore, test, and challenge both of these notions. Intelligence is generally viewed as an applied subject, studied by practitioners. This course bridges the gap between theory and practice, encouraging students to understand the role of intelligence among American institutions as well as how it both challenges and contributes to broader theoretical concepts of transparency and governance.

In this course students will be introduced to recent issues concerning intelligence, such as intelligence failure, reform, and oversight, focusing particularly on how the change in US intelligence in the post-9/11 context has increasingly emphasized domestic – or “homeland” – intelligence. Students will gain a working understanding of the different types of intelligence, the range of responsibilities that the different IC members hold, and the relationship between intelligence and the policy-making process. Beyond the technical aspects of the intelligence function, students will explore the political context that frames intelligence operations and learn how the three branches of government both collaborate and conflict to utilize this resource. They will learn how integral intelligence information is to high-level government decision-making and the function of foreign policy. Finally, students will consider some of the major normative questions regarding intelligence, such as: what the appropriate role for intelligence should be in a democracy, how transparent intelligence should be to the public, and how its vast array of activities should be supervised.

This course is primarily a discussion-focused seminar, thus student preparation and participation is vital. The discussions will be augmented by brief lectures touching on the technical points and political context of particular intelligence operations. From time to time, guest speakers drawn from the intelligence community will be invited to contribute their insights to the course. Due to the compressed nature of the summer session, there will be two required Saturday meetings and a required field trip during the day on Wednesday, July 25.

Readings:

Readings are available on an internal UCDC server. We will also arrange to have readers available for purchase.

Course Requirements and Grading:

- **Attendance and participation:** This course is a seminar, driven by student engagement, thus students are absolutely required to complete the reading and appear to class prepared to discuss. Active engagement is worth 10% of the grade.
- **Reading presentation:** Each week, two students will be responsible for critiquing one of the assigned readings. Each presentation will be approximately 10 minutes long and will form the basis of the discussion. These presentations should not summarize the readings, but rather focus on a thoughtful critique and discussion of the issues presented. This presentation will constitute 15% of the grade.
- **Mid-term exam:** This take home exam will be held in week four of the course. It will be worth 20% of the grade.
- **Policy memo:** Students will submit one 5-page memo on a policy issue to be chosen by the student. The memo will be worth 25% of the grade.
- **Final exam:** The final take-home exam will be distributed on the last day of class and students will be given 24 hours to complete it. It will be worth 30% of the grade.

Part I: Intelligence: How it Works

1: June 27: What is Intelligence? The Mechanics and Beyond

- Introduction to the course, requirements, and the world of intelligence

2: July 7: (Saturday Meeting) The Intelligence Community: Structure and Objectives

- Mark M. Lowenthal, *From Secrets to Policy* (4th Edition) (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2008) Ch. 5, pp. 69-110.
- Jeffrey T. Richelson, *The US Intelligence Community* (5th edition) (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008) Ch. 1, pp. 1-14. Ch. 5, pp. 69-110.
- Loch K. Johnson (ed.), *The Handbook of Intelligence Studies*, Part III: The Intelligence Cycle and the Search for Information: Planning, Collecting and Processing, pp. 105-163.

3: July 11: Covert Action: From Covert to Overt

- Lowenthal, Ch. 8, pp. 165-178.
- Jennifer Kibbe, “Covert Action and the Pentagon,” *Intelligence and National Security* (Vol. 22, No. 1, Feb. 2007): pp. 57-74
- John Prados, “The Future of Covert Action” in Loch K. Johnson (ed.), *The Handbook of Intelligence Studies*, Part V, pp. 289-300.
- John MacGaffin, “Clandestine Human Intelligence: Spies, Counterspies, and Covert Action,” in Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber (eds), *Transforming US Intelligence* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2005) pp. 79-95.
- Nicholas Schmidle, “Getting bin Laden: What Happened That Night in Abbottabad,” *New Yorker*, August 8, 2011.

4: July 18: Counterintelligence: Containment from Within

- Lowenthal, Ch. 7, pp. 151-179.
- Robert Jervis, “Intelligence, Counterintelligence, Perception and Deception” in Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber (eds), *Vaults, Mirrors and Masks: Rediscovering US Counterintelligence* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008) Ch. 3, pp. 69-80.
- Jennifer Sims, “Twenty-first Century Counterintelligence: the Theoretical Basis for Reform,” in Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber (eds), *Vaults, Mirrors and Masks: Rediscovering US Counterintelligence* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008) Ch. 1, pp. 19-51.
- Nosenko Case Study
- Hanssen Case Study

Distribution of take-home midterm exam

5: July 25: Domestic Intelligence: Theorizing Intelligence for the “Homeland”

Part One: Field trip to FBI

Part Two: Regular class meeting

- Brian A. Jackson (ed). *The Challenge of Domestic Intelligence in a Free Society* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2009) Chs. 3, 4, and 7.

Part II: Intelligence and the Political Context

6: August 1: Intelligence in the Post-9/11 World

- Richard K. Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) Ch. 6, pp. 124-158.
- Henry A. Crumpton, “Intelligence and Homeland Defense” in Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber, *Transforming US Intelligence* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2005) Ch. 12, pp. 198-219.
- Richard A. Posner, *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005) (selections)

7: August 4: (Saturday Meeting) Intelligence and the Policy Process

- Lowenthal, Ch. 9, pp. 181-196.
- Peter Gill, “The Politicization of Intelligence: Lessons from the Invasion of Iraq”, in Born, Johnson and Leigh (eds), *Who’s Watching the Spies* (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2005) Ch. 2, pp. 12-33.
- Paul R. Pillar, “Intelligence, Policy and the War in Iraq,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006).

Policy Memo Due

8: August 8: Intelligence, Oversight and Government Transparency

- Loch K. Johnson, “Governing in the Absence of Angels”, in Born, Johnson and Leigh (eds), *Who’s Watching the Spies* (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2005) Ch. 4, pp. 57-78.
- Genevieve Lester, “External Accountability: Congress, Opposition, and Oversight Development,” pp. 84-127.

- Bruce Cain et al, "Towards More Open Democracies: The Expansion of Freedom of Information Laws," in Bruce E. Cain, Russell J. Dalton, and Susan E. Scarrow (eds) *Democracy Transformed? Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) pp. 115-139.

9. August 15: Intelligence for a New Era; Conclusions

- Dana Priest and William M. Arkin, *Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State* (New York: Little Brown, 2011) Chs. 1, 2, pp. 3-35; 256-277.
- Richard K. Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) Chs. 1, 8, pp. 1-19; pp. 183-193.

Distribution of take-home final exam